

Quarterly journal of the Socialist Party of Canada

FULCRUM

vol 9

1976

no 4

25¢

with a lever long enough and a fulcrum strong enough the world can be moved

RUSSIAN CAPITALISTS



Also in this issue:
"Socialist" Portugal
Changing Japan
Labour's Manifesto
Christianity and Socialism, Part 2
U.S. Bi-Centennial

SOAPBOX

Backlist item on the stand

JARVIS' PAMPHLET ON RELIGION

I always was surprised to see Jarvis' freelance pamphlet **CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIALISM** billed in **FLIGHT** as a "classic of socialist science", but now that you have commenced to serialise his "work", thus giving it the endorsement of the **SFC**, I feel I must protest.

Jarvis' pamphlet makes amazing reading in parts, but it does not put the socialist case on religion properly. With its pages and pages of biblical criticism and its strong suggestion that religion is really only a racket invented by priests in order to make money, it criticises religion from a rationalist-secularist, rather than a Marxist-socialist viewpoint.

In fact, in the pamphlet, Jarvis expresses considerable sympathy for freethinkers and secularists and even (p.17) criticises those members of the Party who don't share this sympathy.

It is true that the final chapter "RELIGION AND THE MATERIALIST CONCEPTION OF HISTORY" puts somewhat more of the real socialist case on religion than can be found in the rest of the pamphlet, but then most of it was not written by Jarvis. It is essentially an edited version of an article **SOCIALISM, ATHEISM OR RELIGION** which appeared in the **SOCIALIST STANDARD** in January 1969 and a reply to a letter on "Socialism and Religion" that appeared in February 1970. Without commenting on the ethics of his reproducing other people's work as his own, without acknowledgement, the parts which Jarvis has chosen to leave out of these articles is very revealing. For, in both cases, it is a criticism of freethinkers and secularists.

For the proper Socialist case on religion I would refer you to the 1969 article which begins with the following passage (not reproduced by Jarvis):

"Socialists are hostile to all religions. Yet there is a difference between the socialist attitude towards religion and that of the secularist or atheist. The secularist tends to treat religion simply as a set of beliefs which he seeks to demolish by rational and logical criticism. To the socialist this seems a pointless exercise (as pointless as religion itself). Like the atheist we think religion is irrational and unscientific, but we also think that the important thing is not simply to subject it to abstract criticism but to attempt to show why it arose and what its role in society is. To do this we apply the materialist conception of history".

Come to think of it, this is a fitting comment on Jarvis' pamphlet too. Indeed, if the truth be told, it was intended to be. For the 1969 article was specially written by a then member of the

Editorial Committee just after the text of what was to become Jarvis' pamphlet had been rejected for publication in the **SOCIALIST STANDARD**. It was later also rejected by the Pamphlets Committee for publication as an **SPGB** pamphlet. Which is why Jarvis was compelled to publish it himself -- as, I hasten to add, he had every right to do.

Yours fraternally,
Adam BUTCH, Belgium.

dangerous illusions

Open Letter From COMBAT

Dear Friends:

Thank you for sending us your "Declaration of the Principles of World Socialism" which we have translated and studied. (From French version)

With your basic objective -- the establishment of a socialist society based on collective ownership of the means of production -- we are, of course, in full agreement. But, as adherents of Marxism-Leninism, we find the methods by which you propose to establish socialism, scientifically unsound.

You correctly reject anarchist theories concerning the abolition of capitalist society, and you say in your Principle No. 6:

"The governmental machine, including the armed forces, exists only to conserve the monopolistic control of the capitalist class".

and in your comments to Principle No. 4 you acknowledge that the political power of the capitalist class rests in its "... control of the state". But having acknowledged, as do Marxist-Leninists, that the capitalist state is essentially a machinery of force controlled by the capitalist class, you then draw a picture in your comments to Principle No. 6 of the working class

"... taking control of the governmental machinery out of the hands of the capitalist class"

by parliamentary means. You say:

"The way of doing this will be to organise the presentation of candidates to parliament and other representative institutions ... Their duty will be ... to take control of the governmental machinery".

This assumes that the capitalist class, having under its control a machinery of force whose purpose is, as you say, to maintain their class exploitation, will allow their wealth and power to be taken away without using the machinery of force at their disposal.

It is true that you say:

"If there should be an attempt on the part of an anti-democratic minority to use violence to resist the abolition of capitalism then the socialist working class must prepare itself,

as a last resort, to use the armed forces (suitably reorganised on a democratic basis)"

But this assumes that the capitalist class, having under its control a state machinery of force whose purpose is, as you say, to maintain their class exploitation, will refrain from using this state to prevent their loss of its control.

The history of every country where the state has had a facade of "parliamentary democracy" demonstrates that the capitalist class, which controls this state, uses it to alter the electoral laws in an anti-democratic direction whenever any serious threat arises that without such changes, a majority of genuine socialists might be elected to parliament. The armed forces, traditionally commanded by reactionary members of the capitalist class, can then be used to "defend the constitution" — or, in extreme cases, to instigate a coup by which the capitalist class may rule through a military dictatorship.

But if the above picture is a true one and we are convinced that it is, then one is forced to the view that, in order to achieve socialism, it is necessary for the working class to build up its own machinery of force, to disrupt and smash the state machinery of force in the hands of the capitalist class to carry out a socialist revolution.

You say in your comment to Principle No. 5:

"There exists ... no vanguard of professional revolutionaries (as Lenin and the Bolsheviks preached) which could lead the working class to socialism ... The concept of leadership (or of 'correct' leadership) is unnecessary to a revolutionary working class".

But if the working class has to build up its "army" in order to establish socialism, then this army needs a "General Staff" if it is to achieve victory in the revolutionary struggle for socialism. And this "General Staff" of the working class is none other than the vanguard party of the working class, which you reject.

Of course, as you say in Principle No. 5:

"This emancipation will be the work of the working class itself"

and in your comments to this Principle:

"Leaders, in fact, can never lead the masses where they do not wish to go"

But for a majority of the working class to want socialism is not enough. They have to engage in successful revolutionary class struggle, and this requires the leadership of a vanguard party.

Furthermore you say in your comments to Principle No. 6 that once the working class has established its political power,

"... there will be no need for any coercive governmental machinery to protect the interests of a ruling class."

This assumes that, having had their wealth and power taken away, the capitalist class will make

no efforts to recover them. The history of all successful revolutions demonstrates that this assumption is false, that the victorious working class needs its state machinery of force to prevent counter-revolution. If it fails to establish such a state, its doom is sealed.

To conclude, Marxist-Leninists do not advocate the revolutionary road to socialism because they prefer this road to the parliamentary road, but because the revolutionary road is the only road to socialism.

In your comments to your Principle No. 8 you refer to:

"... capitalist parties camouflaged under 'socialist' and 'communist' labels"

We believe that even the above brief analysis established to scientific socialists that, as long as it adheres to the "Declaration of the Principles of World Socialism", the Socialist Party of Canada can only be such a party, objectively (and irrespective of the sincerity of its members) servicing the interests of capitalism by preaching dangerous illusions to the working class — illusions which, if accepted, can only deliver the working class unarmed into the hands of their class enemies, who are armed to the teeth, as in Chile.

REPLY

It is true that, "the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers", but why and how? The State (the government, civil service, armed forces, courts, etc.) now protects the capitalist class' monopoly of the means of production because they now control it, and the capitalist class control the state because they control Parliament. I.e., because those now elected to Parliament (and those who elected them) accept capitalism.

If this is so, then the way to take control of the state out of the hands of the capitalist class is for the working class to replace the present pro-capitalist politicians they elect to Parliament with mandated socialist delegates. This of course presupposes a desire for socialism amongst a majority of the working class. To help the emergence of such a socialist majority by incessant propaganda for socialism is the policy of the SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA.

But "Combat" answers, "the history of every country where the State has had a facade of 'parliamentary democracy' shows that whenever any serious threat arises that ... a majority of genuine socialists might be elected to parliament" the capitalist class change the electoral system or even instigate a military coup to prevent it. But the capitalist class has never been threatened in any country by the prospect of a genuine socialist election victory, if "Combat" disagrees

we challenge them to say where. It is true that parliamentary rule has been abolished in some countries in the past but this has been for other reasons. Generally, parliamentary rule had not been stable in these countries due to their economic backwardness and in all cases has been abolished with the support or acquiescence of a majority of their population.

Faced with a majority of genuine socialists, the capitalist class simply would not be able to abolish parliament and establish the political or military dictatorship. By then it would be too late. Consider what the situation would be on the eve of a genuinely socialist electoral victory: a majority of the working class wanting and understanding socialism, and not just a simple majority but the immense majority since the working class is likely to be affected more or less uniformly by the spread of socialist ideas (it is difficult to see why any worker, faced with the possibility of socialism being established should want to support capitalism). The State machine, the civil service and the armed forces, is manned by members of the working class who will be equally influenced by socialist ideas. It will thus have ceased to be an effective weapon of capitalist oppression even before the formal socialist election victory. Any capitalists, politicians or army officers who plotted a coup d'Etat would find themselves isolated: no one would follow them. It is for this reason that we doubt whether any of them would attempt such a hopeless, indeed mad, venture.

We are criticised for arguing that after the establishment of socialism the state, as the social organ of coercion, will be abolished. "The history of all successful revolutions", we are told, shows that the dispossessed capitalists will try to recover their organ of coercion or state. But once again there never has yet been any successful socialist revolution. Certainly, there have been a number of political and social upheavals which have claimed to be "socialist revolutions", Russia 1917, China 1949, Cuba 1959. But in fact these were revolutions led by a vanguard of professional revolutionaries whose aim was to seize power in order to modernise their countries. Once in power these vanguards evolved into a new ruling class based on the state ownership of the means of production, which is why they have needed to maintain an apparatus for coercion. These revolutions have been state-capitalist revolutions leading to the establishment of state-capitalist regimes -- and their ideology has been precisely the "Marxism-Leninism" to which "Combat" adheres. The socialist revolution on the other hand, abolishes class society and class rule and so also the need for a State.

It is for this reason that socialists doubt whether "Combat" really agrees with our object: the establishment of a system of society based on the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments of production and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community. What "Combat" wants to see es-

tablished is not a moneyless, wageless, stateless socialist society but some form of state capitalism in which the working class would be ruled by its self-appointed "vanguard". It is perhaps of without significance that in quoting our objective, "Combat" mentions only "common ownership" but not "democratic control". For the principle of leadership which they embrace is anti-democratic and, according to Leninist theory and practice, no "Marxist-Leninist vanguard" once it has seized power can allow itself to be democratically controlled by the ordinary working class which "exclusively by its own efforts is able to develop only trade union consciousness" (Lenin, "What Is To Be Done?")

It just remains to add that "Combat" has confused "Revolution" (a complete and rapid change in the basis of society) and "insurrection" (an armed uprising to seize power). The SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA is revolutionary because it stands for the replacement of capitalist class society by classless Socialism; "Combat" is merely insurrectionist, proposing the violent replacement of the present ruling minority by another ruling minority.

My Dear Fellow Socialists:

In your Declaration of Principles is stated: "5. That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself." This should be self-evident from: "1. ... the working class, by whose labor alone wealth is produced." for who would not consider freedom the most essential wealth?

And yet: "6. ... this machinery ... may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation ... " can it be converted? Used, perhaps, but would its use not constitute continued manipulation of workers, beyond the control of their "labor?"

If we accept, in a broader sense, that one's emancipation must be one's own work, we cannot delegate the task, even to one another.

John Rothwell, Calgary

REPLY

Principle No. 5 in effect asserts that the emancipation of the working class cannot be attained by leaders at the head of unconscious masses. In light of the abundance of "friends of the workers" organizations which pretend to be able to usher in a promised land for passive, unparticipating workers who do not yet perceive the cause of their problems, would indicate that principle No. 5 is necessary in spite of the fact that workers produce all wealth. Yes, it should be self-evident that the workers must free themselves, but the capitalist class controls the mass media, to maintain its interests, and this is another contradiction in its propaganda. That is, that the

workers have the mental ability and dedication to not only produce all the wealth, but also to run the system from top to bottom, but allegedly cannot use these abilities to emancipate themselves. They are asked to rely on leaders or great men instead. Of course the leaders preach capitalist ideas, often disguised as "Socialism" or "Communism."

"Who would not consider freedom the most essential wealth?" "Wealth" is used in many connections, but socialists usually use the expression in its economic sense. That is, things useful to society produced by human labor applied to natural resources. The fact that the class of capitalists monopolizes most of it ensures its freedom at the expense of the useful class. Freedom for all will involve classlessness, everyone having free access according to need, all standing in equal relation to the means of production and distribution, and consciously controlling it in the interest of all.

When the state machinery, now used by the capitalist class to maintain its position is "used" by the working class (as you, at least, concede is possible) to help gain its emancipation, would this use at the same time not mean its conversion to that use? But your main concern is that it would be used for the "continued manipulation of the workers." By whom? At present it is used by the capitalist class to "manipulate the workers," because the workers don't know any better. The key lies in working class understanding of its position in society, once the oppressed class gains control of the state machine to end their oppression there is no more chance of the state being used against it than there is now of the state being used against the capitalist class which presently consciously controls it. (see preceding reply to COMBAT.)

Of course, there are instances, in the past, in which the "representatives" of the workers have "turned against the workers" after being elected to office, but these people never did represent the workers. They were actually representatives of the capitalist class whose ideas were invariably the ideas needed to keep this system alive. The concept of "leader" and "representative" (or delegate) are worlds apart in their meanings and functions in capitalist society. Governments are representatives of the capitalist class, but leaders of the working class. One class is dominant, the other has a ring in its nose. It can be seen that governments are not independent entities but are instruments of a conscious controlling class.

The process of a working class awakening will simultaneously remove their inability to use the state in their interests, to help bring in socialism. Of course the owning class will still be conscious, but with their minority numbers will not be able to stop the oppressed majority which finally "knows the score," and which will take no more notice of the bosses' leaders, if there are still any around. With so few followers left, there would be little reason for leaders.

You say, "If we accept... that one's emancipation must be one's own work, we cannot delegate the task, even to one another." Principle 5 speaks of the working class, millions of individuals, not just one worker in the abstract. The political work of emancipation involves many tasks in addition to working as a delegate, as is the case in Socialist parties now, (writing, speaking, selling journals, distributing leaflets, airing halls, correspondence etc.) Is a social group of any size a coordinating instrument of some kind is unavoidable, hence delegates or representatives or executives. But in a democratic workers organization or a classless society this is just another type of contribution.

PORTUGAL'S "SOCIALIST" CONSTITUTION

In April the Portuguese Constituent Assembly voted a new Constitution for Portugal which contained such high-sounding declarations as "Portugal is a sovereign republic... undertaking its transformation into a society without classes" (Article 1) and "the basic tasks of the state are... to abolish the exploitation and the oppression of man by man" (Article 8). The Constitution even mentions the words, socialism and material five times.

Article 2, for instance, declares:

The Republic of Portugal is a democratic state... which has as its aim to ensure the transition to socialism through the creation of the conditions for the democratic exercise of power by the working classes.

And Article 80:

The socio-economic organization of the Republic of Portugal is based on the development of socialist relations of production, through the collective appropriation of the main means of production, land and natural resources and the exercise of democratic power by the working classes.

This of course is all nonsense. Portugal has a capitalist economic system and is not in its way to socialism.

Some of its political leaders may well wish to see the establishment of a society without classes and an end to the exploitation of man by man, but their actions will certainly not lead to this result. What they can establish, and maybe will succeed in establishing in Portugal, is political democracy, a limited democratic framework for the operation and administration of capitalism. Such a regime does not abolish classes nor end the exploitation of man by man nor is it a "transition" to socialism. At most, in subordinating the control of the state machine to a parliament elected by universal suffrage, it better facilitates the

possibility of the working class winning political power for the establishment of socialism. As such political democracy is useful to the working class, but in itself it does nothing to solve the problems they face. It leaves the capitalist organisation of society — the class monopoly of the means of production, the wages system and the production of wealth for sale (in a market) with a view to profit — intact.

The mention of socialism in a new Portuguese Constitution is to be explained partly by the fact that this is a word which has a certain amount of sympathy amongst the working class and so can help rally their support for a new, modernizing capitalist regime. But it is also to be explained by the fact that, despite the protests of genuine socialists the capitalist media continuously misrepresents socialism for what is more properly called "state capitalism", i.e., state ownership or control of capitalist industry. The replacement of private capitalist ownership and control is not a gain for the working class, despite Article 83 of the new Constitution which declares:

All the nationalizations carried out since 25 April 1974 are irreversible conquests of the working classes.

This is just not true. The working class of Portugal have not gained from the nationalisation of the banks and various other industries following the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship in April 1974. Those in the nationalised industries have remained wage workers, forced to sell their ability to work to an employing enterprise: they

have remained exploited in that the profits of nationalised industries have continued to come from their unpaid labour. As in nationalised industries in other countries the workers still need to organise to defend their wages and working conditions, if need be by going on strike just as they did before nationalisation. Nationalisation merely means private shareholders become state bond-holders, often with the added burden of incompetent state bureaucrats and place seekers.

There are, in fact, some in Portugal who realise that all this talk of socialism is mere window dressing. On the French TV station Antenne 2 on 11 May in a debate between the leaders of the main Portuguese political parties, Freitas do Amaral, the leader of the Centre Democrats — who represent private capitalist interests and who were the only party to vote against the new Constitution, precisely because of its references to "socialism" — turned to Alvaro Cunhal, leader of the Portuguese Communist Party, said: "The Communist Party is a capitalist party; it stands for State capitalism". Quite true! Which shows that at times the politicians representing the various competing sectional capitalist interests in Portugal are prepared to admit that the real issue is not "capitalism", an issue on which the working class have no interest in taking sides. The workers interest lies in using the newly-established political democracy to acquire and spread socialist understanding in cooperation with their fellow workers in other countries, with a view to establishing world socialism.

A.L.B.

As the poet said: What a tangled web we weave,
when we set out to deceive.

That is what the political rulers of Russia have done under the name of Socialism/Communism ever since the revolution of 1917. And according to an article, "HOW THE SOVIET ELITE LIVES IT UP," (Atlantic Dec. '75) more evidence is supplied to show that Russia is a full fledged capitalist and imperialist power.

russian capitalists

Within the Russian Social Democratic Party, prior to 1917, sons and daughters of the emerging Russian capitalist bureaucracy espoused a few Marxian ideas. Russia was predominantly feudal and ripe for capitalism. So, unlike France when it had its bourgeois upheaval, the Bolsheviks went further than the enticing "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity" to obscure their minority motives and lead the masses down the garden path to a new exploitation. They used an equally foggy, but more enticing, "Communism" to ensure the faithful following of the peasants after the new messiahs. To

convert illiterate and starving peasants into alcoholic wage-slaves was the road to state capitalism, as Lenin knew and said during a truthful moment in 1921. The majority had no concept of Socialism/Communism; their immediate desires were bread and land, and they didn't mind if the new rulers promised them this under the window dressing of "Communism."

These political actors could not wait until their seizure of power to modify their existing distortions of Marxism. Before the October grab, they

decreed an inequality of wages, highest going, of course, to office holding hopefuls of the Bolshevik Party. Later, by the mere substitution of one word, Stalin changed Marx's slogan, "From each according to ability, to each according to need" to its opposite, "From each according to ability, to each according to his work." This harmonized with the needs of capitalism while vaguely sounding like Marx's social equality.

Lenin's Distortions

Lenin, the god-father of Russian capitalist ideology, warped more of Marx's basic ideas to provide the peasants-come-job-hounds with a philosophical font to justify long factory hours and low wages. To Marx, the Socialist revolution could only be "the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority in the interest of the immense majority." (Communist Manifesto) And what did Lenin say? He stated that the workers must be led by a group of skilled professional revolutionaries. Why? Because "... the working class exclusively by its own efforts is able to develop only trade union consciousness..." (WHAT IS TO BE DONE) which again falls in line with the ideology necessary to establish and maintain capitalism. Marx knew that only a class conscious majority of workers could establish Socialism. Russia's majority of 1917 was not working class -- they were peasants. In addition, they neither understood nor desired socialism. "So that the masses may understand what is to be done long and persistent work is required," (Marx, Class Struggles in France.) However with the motivation of deluding his mass followers into the political darkness of capitalism Lenin said, "If socialism can only be realized when the intellectual development of all the people permits it, then we shall not see socialism for 500 years." (Reported by John Reed.) It is bitterly ironic that at a time when the rest of the world was capitalistically advanced and, except for the absence of class conscious workers, materially ripe for the real thing Lenin certainly made every effort to make a 500 year postponement a reality. Lenin's crimes against the working class included falsification of Marx's observations about the function of the state and how the workers will have to use it to help terminate this system and establish the next, in which there will be no need of a state. His thesis, THE STATE AND THE REVOLUTION, was conveniently vague. A blind follower could interpret Lenin's work as the Socialist Revolution! However at the time, the Socialist Party of Great Britain was not deceived. Neither was Julius Martov who replied in his book, THE STATE AND THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION. Under the guise of "communism" Lenin concealed his planned capitalization of Russia and used the Bolshevik dictatorship to distort the concept of "dictatorship OF the Proletariat" into the very opposite - "dictatorship OVER the proletariat. The rulers of western nations gloried in these Bolshevik fallacies. While pretending to be in opposition to 'Godless Communism' they used their mass media to spread Bolshevik distortions to their own workers, the better to

keep them confused and "in line."

EVERY INSTITUTION OF WESTERN CAPITALISM CAN BE FOUND IN RUSSIA. Russia has a Chamber of Commerce and counterpart to Stock Exchanges, state bureaus to allocate capital to places of highest direct profits or the benefit of the national capital.

Naturally, the same sexual, or working class, problems are generated by Russian capitalism as are spawned by the system elsewhere. Graft, embezzlement and corruption, crime, poverty, mental illness, suicide and alcoholism are present in Russia. This is getting to be well known. Perhaps not so well known are the details of privilege and opulence of Russia's capitalists. After three years as New York Times Moscow correspondent, Hedrick Smith described the lives of the Russian elite. (THE RUSSIANS) Grey-curtained, chauffeured limousines whisk the higher-ups to special stores of delicacies like caviar, smoked salmon, canned sturgeon, vintage wine and other luxuries well beyond the incomes of average workers even if they were allowed past the guarded doors. Another privilege is courteous service and no line-ups or shortages that plague the millions on the lower rungs of the income ladder. Access to Western produced goods includes magazines, books, movies, cars and travel, and many more commodities at cut-rate, duty-free prices that the workers never see. The "dachas" or country homes-mansions of those at the top of the pyramid have private projectors for showing Western and Soviet movies.

In food the top leaders, if they desire, can get home delivery of food of a quality the workers have never dreamed of. Consumption privileges extend downward in hierarchical fashion. The nerve center of the pyramid is known as the nomenklatura which controls and appoints position downward throughout the country. The patronage system includes provincial capitals where a similar network of closed stores and other priorities prevail for the power elite. Squads of security screened servants for the rich are well rewarded for not gossiping about how the top dogs live. The favors extend as far as a special lane on main avenues reserved for VIP cars. Otherwise their drivers disobey traffic laws with impunity. VIP cars feature interiors of soft arm chairs, plush carpeting, air conditioning, radio telephones and other gadgetry. Brands include black Volga sedans, black Zil saloon cars, hand-tooled and worth \$80,000 each plus other top eastern makes, as well as the cream of Western produced conveyances. Brezhnev has helped to make them fashionable. His stable includes Rolls-Royce, Silver Cloud, Citroen-Maserati, Lincoln, Mercedes and Cadillacs. Stalin had a convoy of six cars. Khrushchev cut it back to four. Leaders and their families have entire communities of secluded dachas. Brezhnev is surely no example of one who can enjoy the mild climate of Crimea or Pitsunda on the Black Sea, the exhilarating weather of the Central Russian hunting region around Zavidovo where he enjoys bear hunting, visiting dignitaries or the peace of his pinewood retreat outside

Minak, or the up-to-date essence of the Finnish-built glass and teak state guesthouses close to Leningrad. All this starkly contrasts with the monotonous prefab dormitories of the working class with several people to a bedroom and a few smooching in the living room. Some children of the Russian capitalist class fear to play with working class children because of the resentment created by the differences in consumption and possessions.

The workers who do know of or suspect the options of those they follow make fun of what they think are violations of Marx's ideas. One of these is an anecdote about Brezhnev wanting to please his mother with how "successful" he had become. He invited her to Moscow and showed her his spacious town apartment, but she was non-committal. So he ordered his Zil, and they sped to his dacha near Osoto, used previously by Stalin and Khrushchev. He showed her each room and the handsome grounds but still she said nothing. So he called for his personal helicopter and flew her to his hunting lodge at Zavidovo. There he escorted her to the banquet room, grandly displaying the great fireplace, his guns, etc., and, unable to restrain himself further, he asked her pleadingly, "Tell me Mamma, what do you think?" "Well," she hesitated. "It's good, Leonid. But what if the Reds come back?" However, when the real Reds arrive it will not be "again", but for the first time.

Rouble Millionaires During W.W. II

A capitalist ruling class in "Communist" Russia is not new. According to a pamphlet put out by the British "Russia Today" society in 1943 the first man to be publicly proclaimed as a millionaire was Berdyuzbekov. Many others in his class

had succeeded in buying more than a million rubles of Russian war bonds, and the pamphlet was put out in an attempt to justify the class versus a poor majority and to somehow explain that this class division did not contradict the alleged building of Communism. According to H. and P. Lazaroff, in 1955, there were 930 rouble millionaires in Russia, 780 of which were multi-millionaires. (THE SOVIET UNION AFTER STALIN.)

The struggle between the classes persists in Russia as well as the rest of world capitalism and the rulers combine capitalist propaganda with minimal allowance of confessions indoor their workers to accept the system with its inevitable miseries. The Russian dictators are now in a dilemma over how many more installment purchased autos to allow the masses. The expense of building new roads, garages, etc. might slow capital expansion in other areas. On the other hand, car ownership paid with cash and enjoyed only by the elite might look too conspicuous for the exploited to accept as being "fair" or "Communistic."

The resentment of the underprivileged already finds expression in the slashed tires and crude slogans that are sometimes scratched on parked cars in the back streets of Moscow. MANCHESTER GUARDIAN, reprinted in the VICTORIA TIMES, Aug. 21/76.)

The amazing thing is how some workers in Russia, and some here, continue to worship Russian state capitalism as being something of the opposite. Millions of others struggle mightily, not to end the system but, theoretically, to get enough out of it for an enjoyable life, a bizarre goal completely at odds with reality. But apparently capitalism will be its own "grave-digger" in Russia too, as the crude slogans, underground leaflets and other resentments evolve into political knowledge. Speed the day. JGL

Forward? Backward? Sideways?

CLC Manifesto

Some arguments are difficult to counter because they carry within them tricky little devices designed to preclude debate. For example: "I am for labour. Therefore my actions and policies are for labour. Therefore those who oppose my actions and policies are against labour." This fallacy is so obvious that it is never spelled out in terms but it is often implied. Less obvious is the two word term - "Democratic Socialism." The term carries with it the implication that any opponent is, undemocratic, anti-socialist or both. Users of the term rarely, if ever, feel obligated to define their terms but their policies indicate that, to them, "Democratic Socialism" means the workers will have certain trade union and political rights within the capital-wage labour struggle whilst the capitalist class have the "democratic" right to a "reasonable" profit arising

from the workers still struggling under the capital wage labour relationship but their political and trade union rights are more restricted by an authoritarian state which also largely controls the rate of profit through state banks. The latter situation is sometimes referred to as "Communism," Fascism, or "National Socialism." If it not already obvious very little study with the Socialist Party of Canada will show that none of these situations are socialist or democratic. It may seem unusual to use space to explain these fallacies but it would be well to keep them in mind while studying the CLC Manifesto.

The Manifesto sees union organizations as a dynamic force for progressive social change. This is simply not true. Union organizations have always been a reflection of the circumstances of capitalism. Unions came into being in answer to working

claim suffering after the industrial revolution when the capital-wage labour relationship became the dominant productive force. In the years when capitalists expressed the intention of destroying unions the desire to destroy capitalism was strong amongst unionists. Early in this century when the ruling class concluded that it was better to give workers a small voice in their wages and working conditions unionists correspondingly tempered their position. Today the CLC Manifesto is nothing other than a reaction to the government's Anti-Inflation measures. The CLC correctly assesses this as a thinly disguised method of reducing real wages.

In its Manifesto the CLC expresses some views that might impress the impressionable: "The managers of corporations always want to minimize the cost of labour. In a sense the government has become a manager at the national level. In fact they have always been economy managers." (P.8) and "If we have the power to resist wage controls, then we also have the power to create social democracy." (P.9) It is also alleged that the CLC is an advocate of "democratic socialism." (P. 11) Heartening words, at first glance, but at a closer look what does this CLC sound and fury really signify?

The CLC conforms to regular capitalist media propaganda in disguising existing social relationships. It speaks not of exploitation of the working class by the capitalist class through the capital wage-labour relationship but of "managers" and "managers of the economy." The fact that managers are usually members of the working class exposes the weakness of this position. It diverts the question from questioning the validity of capitalism to a sterile question of who runs capitalism or how capitalism should be run.



Why has the CLC waited so long to reveal that social democracy does not exist? The CLC fails to tell what is its concept of social democracy but it does give "the price of labour's future support of 'the system'" -- "an equal share in the economic and social decision-making on a national basis with other partners -- business and government." But as the CLC itself admits the government is nothing other than "an economy manager" -- more appropriately administrators of the needs of

capital. With the power of capital aligned with government backed up by the state it takes quite an imagination for the CLC to envision any kind of equality for labour with such a deal. The Manifesto admits that this is a "dangerous game" but feels the CLC has the "nerve and bargaining ability" to play for "high stakes".

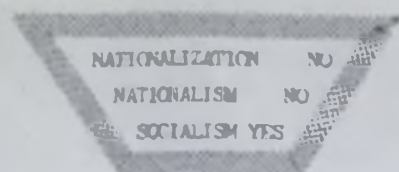
The CLC Executive in violation of two major fallacies:

1. Either they do not fully understand the nature of the capitalist relationship or they feel they have a vested interest to keep the knowledge of this relationship from the membership
2. Undoubtedly arising from the other folly the CLC Executive fails to have an understanding of the necessary separation of limited working class union objectives from the unlimited potential of the political arena.

In the union arena unions fight to get the best possible deal within the capital-wage labour relationship. And they have had some small success in this respect. But they are in continual conflict with capitalism's drive for lower costs and higher profits. It is a battle they must fight over and over in a war they can never win. In international competition the government becomes a natural ally of capital. For the CLC to enter into any kind of liaison with them would bring to fruition the worst of the CLC's apprehensions that union organization would become "an arm of both business and government to restrain the workers." (P. 10) There is no reason to suppose that the CLC Executive are blind to the fact that this is exactly what has happened in other countries where unions have entered into liaison with governments. Perhaps they feel they are the "good guys" who can bring it off. But it is not "bad guys" that cause the workers extra problems in these situations but the nature of the system. This is the "danger" for the workers. The "high stakes" might accrue to some executives in the form of salaried positions where they would be safe from working class discipline.

These frustrations do not mean the working class should despair of using politics. Experience, to date, does not indicate hopelessness of politics but merely the hopeless manner in which this tool has been used by the workers. The political weapon is far too important to be used as a mere extension of trade union objectives. Because of the nature of their existence it is inevitable that this is the route union organizations would take. If merely struggling from an inferior wage position is not good enough for the working class they will give short shrift to union executives who want to collaborate to improve the system that exploits them. While using their unions to protect their living conditions they must, at the same time, learn political action that will abolish this relationship and truly bring about social democracy. When they begin this search they will find the Socialist Party of Canada a knowledgeable and capable vehicle.

Larry Tichenor



The Socialist Party attempted to place the above ad in the MONTREAL STAR. From the following correspondence FULXUM readers can judge the state of "FULXUM OF SPEECH" within capitalism, even when you want to pay for it.

J. G. Jenkins

Gen. Secretary

Socialist Party of Canada

Thank you for the advertisement you sent us and remittance of \$0.60.

Due to the fact that we do have a Socialist Party running for parliament in the Province of Quebec we feel that the advertisement is misleading.

A refund of \$0.60 will go out to you from our Accounting Department within two weeks.

Alan Boyle
Sales Manager
Classified Advertising
Montreal Star

Editor,
Montreal Star

I have a small complaint to register. The classified advertisement with money enclosed to pay for same was sent to your paper June 26th. The ad is reproduced, top of the accompanying page, with a copy of the letter sent back to me by your classified ad sales manager.

It happens that the Socialist Party of Canada neither mis-leads nor leads, but is in the business of informing the class of people who must sell their energy to an employing class, about the nature of the wage-price-profit system of society. This includes the exposure of capitalist parties like the (CP-NUP & Russia or China supporting radical parties of the left who hide behind alternative labels, but who are solid supporters of the capital-wage-labor relationship. It also advocates the practical alternative. If anything is misleading, it is your manager's contention that the NUP is a Socialist Party, and if he is going to win all ads on this basis, then your paper should have attempted no advertising from that Party at any time in the past or future. (I should have stated here that it is also the NUP's contention that it is a Socialist Party.)

Aside from this point, I believe there are less against misleading advertising of goods and services. I am not aware that dailies practiced restrictions like this in relation to political ideas. I am further in disagreement with your manager in his opinion that he, or others with the Star, are in a position to decide for the Star's

readers what is misleading and what is not in the realm of political ideas. In an area of the earth that practices civil rights, don't you think this is the prerogative of a newspaper's readers?

After sending that classified ad to 30 dailies across the country, The Star is the only one to refuse to use it, which would sound like an unsavory reputation it seeks to establish for itself alone.

I am enclosing further material to help show the basic difference between ours and all other political organizations in this country.

J. G. Jenkins
Gen. Secretary

J. G. Jenkins

Gen. Secretary

Socialist Party of Canada

While you may claim that there is no socialist party of Canada, the NUP persistently claims to be such. We therefore have no alternative but to drop your advertisement.

F. B. Walker
Editor in Chief

This is the year of the United States of America bi-centennial, and what is there for the majority of the population of the U.S. to celebrate?

A majority in that country, as in all countries, do not share in the ownership or control of the very means by which they must live. So they really have nothing noteworthy to observe in a patriotic celebration. In any country, a day off from the treadmill of service to those who do as is usually distinguished by varying degrees of escapist activities. Despite a steady effort of concealment, the pages of the daily press periodically reveal this fact.

crime, patriotism & the u.s. bi-centennial

A local VICTORIA TIMES reporter may have had an intention of exposing the proclivities of the working class circus put on by the U.S. ruling class to celebrate the freedom of its forebears from British dominance 200 years previously or of helping to reveal the cause of crime, but when it told the story of Tony Genovese, "U.S. citizen," he probably had no choice.

Tony is a guest of Canada, indulging in, if not friendly, at least free room and board in an institution called the William Head Penitentiary. Tony was described in the language usually employed by the press to play down the fact of class division as a Los Angeles resident and as a "U.S. citizen" who had come to Canada in July/74 on a two-week holiday. But as is common with the dispossessed class, his available cash did not meet the needs of the holiday. Tony apparently approached the situation with directness if not ex-

portable — a .38 calibre revolver and the appropriation of \$9,000 from a Vancouver restaurant.

The TIMES article was accompanied by a nice photo showing Tony sitting on a rock by the seawall of the pen grounds, looking wistfully across the straits that separate this part of Canada from the U.S. It was July the 4th, and he was longing for the country that would not even allow him to fully enjoy a holiday as measured by today's marginal standards. The account said that Tony was straining his ears trying to hear the notes of the Liberty Bell from "his homeland." Tony of course is a strong advocate of the political ideas of his masters. "We always went to Disneyland on July 4th," he said, "because it has one of the best firework displays in the U.S." Was it Caesar who produced bread and circuses for his slaves, as a diversion from dangerous ideas of freedom?

Despite his life of poverty, he said: "I'm proud of the fact that I'm an American. But I committed a crime and now I'm paying for it." That's the same morality existing in his "own" country.

Tony seems to be one of those victims who will violate the property of individual capitalists in times of desperate deprivation but owes allegiance to the oppressing class as a whole, hiding behind its national front of mythical equality. Social inequality and organized scarcity can be called schools for crime. Anyone who objects to the strait jacket of marginal existence and who reacts by pilfering the property of the owning class, and gets caught, is subjected to justice, which means suffering a deprivation of much greater degree. In reference to a land that boasts of equality, Tony, like workers in general, has a child-like, child W. parent concept of right and wrong about the nature of crime. Crime will disappear when all people are free, that is, standing in equal relation to the means of living. Others will sacrifice their lives, or otherwise protect property, not only in times of war, but in defence of individual employers.

Tony's insulation against the political realities of his existence was breached a bit as even as he smiled himself of the hospitality of the Canadian capitalist class. "I never really thought very much about freedom and liberty until I came in here," he said to the reporter. But the conditions of capitalism can, and do, act as an antidote to the poison fed to the workers by the employing class. In time they will learn that every country is a land of the free "and those who work for them." Perhaps the life experienced by the war widow whose husband died defending "his country" as a prisoner of the Japanese during World War II will help her toward this conclusion. It took her 30 years to save up the \$800 dollars required to make the trip to Thailand to see her husband's grave. (VICTORIA TIMES, Feb. 4th/76) Was that degree of poverty her patriotism, if any, should be wearing thin. Massachusetts Institute of Technology economist, Paul Samuelson realized U.S. poverty thus: "If we made a

majority period out of child a house, with most labor producing \$1.00 of income, the cost would be far higher than the \$1.00 of income. But since all of us would be getting a yard of the ground (CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, March 1971)

The TIMES reporter reported (quoted in the article) that Tony, who-already was in jail of "my" country. "The Liberty Bell rings, but I'm not in the way." But in so doing he implied that the real thing is far away. That is classical democracy, as long as the workers' needs are ignored by the likes that nurture capital.

URGENT

The Socialist Party of Canada is in a serious crisis with financial. Postal rates have recently increased by over ten times. This will place a terrible burden on the Party. For even before this increase there was trouble in the horizon. For over ten years the Party has been spending over hundred dollars a month more than it has been taking in. Had it not been for a very generous donation by the late Jim Wilson in the midst of his terminal illness the Party would have been in very serious trouble.

If there is not a dramatic change a little simple arithmetic will forestall the Party's future. The General Executive Committee can and will take whatever steps it can to cut expenses without seriously injuring the spread of socialist ideas. But this will not be enough. In the past, the Party has perhaps been too shy about appealing for funds. It cannot afford to be shy now. Those workers and supporters who can are desperately urged to ISRAEL NOW.

There is something else that will help. FLORIN is, by far, the Party's largest expense. If the journal can meet up to certain qualifications it may become eligible for second class mailing privileges thus effecting considerable saving. One of the qualifications for this rating is that at least 50% of the circulation shall be to paid up subscribers. With a large number of readers receiving sample copies for which they have not yet chosen to subscribe and regular subscribers, and even SP members, with subscriptions overdue FLORIN does not, at the present, meet the full qualification. The Production Committee does not want to cut anyone from the mailing list but, as things stand, it will be doubly compelled to do so.

Subscription rates have been kept deliberately low. \$2.00 is not very much more each reader but accumulatively it means a lot towards FLORIN's production.

READERS PLEASE BE PAID UP TO DATE

FLORIN, Production Committee

Spring 1281 an invading Shio-Mongol fleet of 3000 ships under the command of Kubile Khan, with more than 100,000 warriors, sailed out to invade Japan. ... when a terrible typhoon destroyed the approaching fleet. ... For this the Japanese gave thanks for the Kamikaze, the Divine Wind that saved their country.
(Bernard Huxley, DIVINE THUNDER)

"divine winds" of change blowing through japan

Feudal Japan

Right up till that time (1868), and far beyond, Japan retained the appearance of an outpost of continuing Feudalism where, 'Belief in the Divine origin of the Japanese people inevitably led to the notion of a chosen people with a great spiritual mission, according to which the Japanese were divinely predestined to dominate the world. This elevated Japanese morality. It also strengthened obedience to authority and enabled the ruling classes to count on total submission of a large part of the population.' (Chap. 1. (So what's new in this place of national egoism?))

The Marxist Concept of History seemed to have found an exception in Japan where "... ancient traditions, unlike those of most other countries, survived the advent of modernisation and industrialization. The structure of Japanese society held up under the pressure of rapid change and its classes were able to retain their identity. The all-powerful shoguns (governor generals) were reduced to the status of administrators; the daimyo (feudal dropouts) became the aristocratic ruling class; the samurai (warrior caste) formed the cadres of the modern army. As for the plebeian classes - peasants, laborers and craftsmen - were concerned there was no notable change." (Chap. 3 Millet, it seems, believes that appearances in this case was consistent with reality. Socialists on the other hand were looking at the time lag between (a) the reality of economic development of Japan and (b) the socially acceptable ideological adjustment to this basic factor.) Socialists are aware of the cumulative effect of the money economy upon all earlier forms of society. The fascination for socialists attracted to this tightly controlled microcosm of social experiment and observation was to what pitch of economic commodity production would Japan have to reach before it broke off openly, deliberately and finally with its ancient worship and feudal ideology and was into the top gear ideologically consistent with its industrial capitalist basis?

But now it seems that the "East" is obliged to follow up in the product, as well as materially, in the use of "Western" capitalism and to ... tear under the weight of feudal ties that bound man to his 'natural superiors' ... and to break the ever traveling centuries of religious fervor ... and to open ... payment by assessment and merit YANKEE STYLE.***

By 1848 Marx was aware that capitalism, "... has made the country dependent upon the towns, it has made the barbarian countries dependent upon the civilised ones; nations of peasants on nations of capitalists, the East upon the West." (In the same sense we may add "... the Southern Hemisphere dependent upon the Northern.") Marx continues: "Modern industry has converted the little workshop of the patriarchal master into the great factory of the industrial capitalist. Masses of laborers crowded into the factory are organised like soldiers."*

In proportion as this was happening, the capitalist class "... wherever it gained the upper hand has put an end to all feudal, patriarchal idyllic relations. It has pitilessly torn asunder the motley feudal ties that bind man to his 'natural superiors' and has left remaining no other nexus between man and man than naked self interest, than callous 'cash payment'."*

Class Relations In Modern Japan

This Australian newspaper, Melbourne Age, updates and expands upon the above briefly outlined thus: "Lifetime employment is a 1000-year old tradition in Japan originating in the feudal relationship of master and retainer. In return for his security, the worker gives his company devoted service. Japanese salaried men do not work their massive unpaid overtime for the good of Japan but because they owe the boss this debt of life-long security ... Life long employment actually means security and annual promotion to an early retiring age of 55 - 60. After that the company may retire him on an informal basis -- (or he) may scrounge a job in a smaller and less paternal company ... The recession is squeezing change into a Japanese employment system based on traditions of seniority and loyalty -- a unique facet in the Japanese business world.

"In the 1960's, the company was expanding, opening subsidiaries, recruiting hordes of graduates. The 'seniority' wages system was no burden, although some of the older men were getting more than they were worth, that's changing now. Its changing at hundreds of similar companies. For Japan the changes are revolutionary -- payment by assessment and merit, Yankee Style."***

Concluding the reading of this "Age" article we learn that even Japan is really no exception to the Materialist Concept of History. For we note

christianity and socialism

Part 2 of series

Socialism

SOcialism DOES not mean the nationalisation of poverty and the equalisation of misery, as Churchill glibly declared. It does not mean making everybody equal for that is neither possible nor desirable. It does not mean that everybody will have equal wages — for Marx clearly wrote that socialism means the abolition of the wages system. He further wrote that capitalism is based on wage labour. As wages are the basis of the Russian system (and incidentally the economies of all countries are based on wage labour), it follows that Soviet economy is not socialism and differs from other capitalist countries mainly in its political superstructure.

"Socialism means the common ownership and the democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community." This definition is that of the Socialist Party of Great Britain¹ and derived from the writings of Marx. Other political parties calling themselves socialists either have no definition of socialism, or where they do, omit to use it, and socialism means to them whatever they decide at the time.

All religions, among other things, operate to make the workers humble and submissive. Religion hinders them from facing the real problems of the world.

¹ No connection with the Labour Party, I.L.P., Communist Party, Trotskyists, Marxists, or International Socialists.

Question

Does your local bookstore
carry the **Fulcrum**?
If not, bother your bookseller.

JAPAN concluded

"... it is striking how fast the uniquely Japanese facets of the economy — especially worker-boss harmony — are being eroded."

The most of modern Japanese development is melting away the workways of its many centuries of tailored and unchangeable traditions. The class struggle of that country is melting out along the simple, classic lines of the older capitalist countries and into a clear-cut social and political conflict between wage labor and capital.

C. Peter Purey
Socialist Party of Australia

¹ Karl Marx, COMMUNIST Manifesto, 1848

² Bernard Miles, DIVINE THUNDER, 1971

³ Tony Thomas, MELBOURNE AGE, 31 July 78

and spreads confusion by its false doctrines. It causes some people to accept the myths of the ancients and to rely on those who control our lives and who own the machinery of production.

Socialists have no faith in the teachings of the Bible to solve the difficulties of mankind, the problems of hunger and poverty in some countries in the midst of potential plenty, war and disease, bad housing, inflation, crime and the precariousness of living.

Socialism means a social change from present day society to a new order — a system which is completely different from capitalism. Religion means retaining the present day structure and holding fast to the old order. It follows from this that religion is not in the interests of socialism, and therefore is a bar to progress.

Socialism, unlike religion is not based on belief, but on understanding. This prevents any possible link-up between the two viewpoints. Nobody asks us to understand religion, but only to believe it. But Socialism without understanding is meaningless. To understand religion is not the layman's business — only the priests need to pretend to understand. If we had to understand religion to qualify for eternal life — we should all fail, including the clergy.

Socialists refuse to accept that Christ will eventually return to earth and abolish sin (whatever that might mean), and then everybody will live happily forever after. This idea of the kingdom of Christ is the central concept of the Christian religion, and anybody who subscribes to it cannot be a socialist.

Socialists are against religion because it urges people to accept ideas without evidence; because it substitutes authority (God, or the Bible) for doubting, questioning and understanding. This leads to tolerating poverty, bad housing, unemployment, race hatred and war, instead of eradicating them.

Religion claims that these things are due to the inherent wickedness of mankind or caused by sin. Religion is therefore a drug and confronts mankind as a false doctrine which cannot assist to change the world.

When Voltaire wrote that "mankind will never be free until the last king is strangled with the intestines of the last priest", he proclaimed a truth on the role of religion in his day, and risked his life by making this statement. Things may have changed since those times, thanks to freethinkers and secularists who have opposed religion. But as Ingersoll wrote, "Religion has not civilised man; man has civilised religion."

If one feels that religion is a holy subject and must not be criticised, then he is not yet ripe for open discussion on socialism. The essence of the case against religion is that it is fallacious, and therefore a barrier to socialism. When mankind realises that there should be nothing exempt from criticism, one is more likely to investigate and make changes.

next issue **BELIEF IN GOD**

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

OBJECT:

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments of producing and distributing wealth by and in interest of society as a whole.

SOCIALIST DIRECTORY

PARTY PUBLICATIONS

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY (S.P.C.B.)	\$1.00
RUSSIA 1917-1967 (S.P.C.B.)	.50
IS LABOUR GOVERNMENT THE WAY TO SOCIALISM (S.P.C.B.)	.50
SOCIALIST PARTY AND WAR (S.P.C.B.)	1.00
FAMILY ALLOWANCES (S.P.C.B.)	.50
SOCIALIST COMMENT (S.P.C.B.)	.50
RUSSIAN REVOLUTION (S.P.C.)	.50
HISTORICAL MATERIALISM (S.P.C.B.)	1.50
WORLD OF ABUNDANCE (S.P.C.)	.50

CLASSICS OF SOCIALIST SCIENCE

SOCIALISM, UTOPIAN AND SCIENTIFIC (Engels)	\$1.50
CIVIL WAR IN FRANCE (Marx)	1.50
WAGE-LABOUR AND CAPITAL (Marx)	1.00
VALUE PRICE AND PROFIT (Marx)	1.50
MUTUAL AID (Kropotkin)	2.50
FOUNDATIONS OF CHRISTIANITY (Kautsky)	5.00
WOMEN UNDER SOCIALISM (Bebel)	5.50
COMMUNIST MANIFESTO (Marx)	.75
CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIALISM (Jarvis)	1.50

Order from Literature Agent,
Socialist Party of Canada,
P.O. Box 4280, Stn. A,
Victoria, B.C. V8X 5X8

ENQUIRY FORM

To the Socialist Party of Canada,
P.O. Box 4280, Stn. A, Victoria, B.C.

Please provide the following: (underline)

FULCRUM (Socialist Party of Canada) 8 issues	\$2.00
SOCIALISME MONDIAL (French, Parti Socialiste du Canada) 4 issues	1.00
WESTERN SOCIALIST 12 issues (World Socialist Party of U.S.)	4.00
SOCIALIST STANDARD 12 issues (Socialist Party of Great Britain)	5.00

Subscriptions to libraries at double rate.

I would also like to donate toward socialist activities.

Further information about the policies and publications of the Socialist Party of Canada ☐

I am interested in becoming a member ☐

Name

Address

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The Companion Parties of Socialism hold:

1. That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whom labor alone wealth is produced.
2. That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.
3. That this antagonism can be abolished only by emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.
4. That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.
5. That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.
6. That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organize consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and overthrow of plutocratic privileges.
7. That as political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interest of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.
8. THAT OUR COMPANION PARTIES OF SOCIALISM, therefore, enter the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labor or avowedly capitalist, and call upon all members of the working class of these countries to support these principles to the end that a termination may be brought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labor, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party should apply for Application for Membership from the secretary of nearest local or the National Office.

These seven parties adhere to the same Socialist Principles.

LEAGUE OF DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISTS
Gustavstrasse 30, A-1080 Vienna, Austria

SOCIALIST PARTY OF AUSTRALIA
P.O. Box 1469, Melbourne, Vic. 3220, GPO

SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA
P.O. Box 4280, Stn. A, Victoria, B.C. V8X 5X8

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN
62 Clapham High St., London SW 4, 7 UN

SOCIALIST PARTY OF NEW ZEALAND
P.O. Box 124, Postal Centre, Wellington, N.Z.

WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF IRELAND
3 Pym St., Antrim Rd., Belfast, N. Ireland

WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF U.S.
205 Huntington Ave., Boston, Mass. 02115